1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

as the white and black oak, the white walnut, of which they make pills, the cherry, dogwood, maple, birch, and several others. They prepare and compound these medicines in different ways, which they keep a profound secret. Those preparations are frequently mixed with superstitious practices, calculated to guard against the powers of witchcraft, in which, unfortunately they have a strong fixed belief. Indeed, they are too apt to attribute the most natural deaths to the arts and incantations of sorcerers, and their medicine is, in most cases, as much directed against those as against the disease itself. There are, however, practitioners among them who are free from these prejudices, or at least do not introduce them into their practice of the medical art. Still there is a superstitious notion, in which all their physicians participate, which is, that when an emetic is to be administered, the water in which the potion is mixed must be drawn up a stream, and if for a cathartic downwards. This is, at least, innocent, and not more whimsical perhaps, nor more calculated to excite a smile, than some theories of grave and learned men in civilised countries.

In fevers the Indians usually administer emetics which are made up and compounded in various ways. I saw an emetic once given to a man who had poisoned himself with the root of the May Apple.* It consisted of a piece of racoon skin burned with the hair on and finely powdered, pounded dry beans and gunpowder. These three ingredients were mixed with water and poured down the patient's throat. This brought on a severe vomiting, the poisonous root was entirely discharged and the man cured.

In other complaints, particularly in those which proceed from rheumatic affections, bleeding and sweating are always the first remedies applied. The sweat oven is the first thing that an Indian has recourse to when he

* Podophyllum peltatum.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

which means, giving him *a large fee*, which he will say, is justly due to a man who, like himself, is able to perform such difficult things. If the patient who applies, is rich, the *Doctor* will never fail, whatever the complaint may be, to ascribe it to the powers of witchcraft, and recommend himself as the only person capable of giving relief in such a hard and complicated case. The poor patient, therefore, if he will have the benefit of the great man's advice and assistance, must immediately give him his *honorarium*, which is commonly either a fine horse, a good rifle-gun, a considerable quantity of wampum, or goods to a handsome amount. When this fee is well secured, and not before, the Doctor prepares for the hard task that he has undertaken, with as much apparent labour as if he was about to remove a mountain. He casts his eyes all round him to attract notice, puts on grave and important looks, appears wrapt in thought and meditation and enjoys for a while the admiration of the spectators. At last he begins his operation. Attired in a frightful dress, he approaches his patient, with a variety of contortions and gestures, and performs by his side and over him all the antic tricks that his imagination can suggest. He breathes on him, blows in his mouth, and squirts some medicines which he has prepared in his face, mouth and nose; he rattles his gourd filled with dry beans or pebbles, pulls out and handles about a variety of sticks and bundles in which he appears to be seeking for the proper remedy, all which is accompanied with the most horrid gesticulations, by which he endeavours, as he says, to frighten the spirit or the disorder away, and continues in this manner until he is quite exhausted and out of breath, when he retires to wait the issue.

The visits of the juggler are, if the patient requires it, repeated from time to time; not, however, without his giving a fresh fee previous to each visit. This continues until the property of the patient is entirely exhaust-

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

755 ed, or until he resolves upon calling in another doctor, with whom feeing must begin anew in the same manner that it did with his predecessor.

When at length the art of the juggling tribe has after repeated trials proved ineffectual, the patient is declared *incurable*. The doctors will say, that he applied to them too late, that he did not exactly follow their prescriptions, or sometimes, that he was bewitched by one of the greatest masters of the science, and that unless a professor can be found possessed of superior knowledge, he is doomed to die or linger in pain beyond the power of relief.

Thus these jugglers carry on their deceit, and enrich themselves at the expense of the credulous and foolish. I have known instances in which they declared a patient perfectly cured and out of all danger, who nevertheless died of his disorder a very few days afterwards, although his doctors affirmed that the evil spirit or the effects of witchcraft were entirely removed from him; on the other hand, I have seen cases in which the patient recovered after being pronounced incurable and condemned to die. In those cases, however, he had had the good sense to apply to some of the honest physicians of one or the other sex, who had relieved him by a successful application of their medicines.

756 The jugglers' dress, when in the exercise of their functions, exhibits a most frightful sight. I had no idea of the importance of these men, until by accident I met with one, habited in his full costume. As I was once walking through the street of a large Indian village on the Muskingum, with the chief *Gelelemend*, whom we called *Killbuck*, one of those monsters suddenly came out of the house next to me, at whose sight I was so frightened, that I flew immediately to the other side of the chief, who observing my agitation and the quick strides I made, asked me what was the matter, and what I thought it was that I saw before me. "By its outward appearance,"

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

groups. The Mask Being was "feasted" annually (J.T.). Speck described a number of other feasts and dances including "The Mask Dance Ceremony," an "Opossum Dance Ceremony," the "Buffalo Dance Ceremony" (apparently a recent diffusion to the Delawares), a "Corn Harvest Ceremony," and "The Spring Prayer and Football Ceremony to Advance Vegetation."[72]

Shamans

There were two kinds of shamans, one devoted to curing and the other to divination.[73] Heckewelder distinguished the Medeu, or the individual associated with curing, from the Powwow or Juggler, who was higher in rank and was skilled in divination and magic.[74] The members of the latter group, according to Harrington, were organized into societies, but Trowbridge denied this, and there is no other confirmation to be found for the existence of societies. They probably represent a diffusion from the Iroquois to the Canadian Delawares.[75] Shamans might be of either sex and were generally old. Among their activities were weather forecasting, rain making, the preparation of "medicine" for hunters who were down on their luck, and curing. They also make "philters or love potions for such married persons as either do not, or think they cannot, love each other."[76] Before they performed their services, shamans had to be paid in wampum, tobacco, dressed deerskins, or the like. They wore costumes when treating the sick, and a tortoise shell rattle, dancing, singing, and "mumbling" were always a part of their performance.[77]

Lindestrom in the seventeenth century said that the "curing" shaman "runs back and forth, cries so that he is heard a long way off, rolls himself naked into the burning fire, takes fire brands with which he builds a wall all around the sick one, the sick one enduring such with patience."[78] Denton said of shamans:

> When any person is sick, after the means used by his friend, every one pretending skill in Physick, that proving ineffectual they send for a Pawaw or Priest, who sitting down by the sick person without the least enquiring after the distemper, waits for a gift which he proportions his work accordingly to: that being received, he first begins with a low voice to call upon his God, calling sometimes upon one sometimes on another, raising his voice higher & higher, beating of his naked breasts & sides, till the sweat runneth down, & his breath is almost gone, then that little which is remaining, he evaporates upon the face of the sick person three or four times together & so takes his leave.[79]

[72] Speck, 1937, pp. 49-87.

[73] Brainerd, 1884, p. 131; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 236; Brinton, 1885, pp. 70-71.

[74] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 228 ff.

[75] Harrington, 1913, p. 217; Trowbridge MS.

[76] Harrington, 1913, p. 232; N.D.

[77] Harrington, 1913, pp. 232-34; M.B.

[78] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 248.

[79] Denton, 1845, pp. 8-9; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 232-33, described the performance in similar terms.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

821 ine the thunder to proceed from the crowing of a monstrous turkey-cock in the heavens. For certain stars they have names. The north star is called Lowanen, that is, north, or it is called the star that does not move. The wagon which revolves around the North Star they call the Bear, whom, they say, the Indians pursued with a little dog, that is the star Wilis; the three stars in the form of a triangle, represent the head of a bear, which they cut from the trunk and threw down. Certain stars forming an ellipse they call the beaver-hide, because they describe the form of a beaver hide stretched out. The milky way is the road to Tschipey Hacki. The seven stars[***] they have named Anschisktauwewak, that is fire-brands gathered or laid together. The Monsys (Monseys) call these stars Menhangik, the travelling companions. Other nations have yet other names for them. In case of an eclipse of sun or moon, they say that these bodies have fallen into a swoon.

●755 In time of illness, they try all manner of remedies, for they have a great fear of death. They not only consult the doctors, but take, also, the medicine that others may prescribe. The doctors must be called in, for if they were slighted, the patient might die. The doctors blow upon the patients, sprinkle a drink of roots and herbs they have taken into the mouth upon them, and murmur incantations over them. They diagnose the disease, tell whence it came and inform them whether recovery is possible or not. They give directions, also, as to what must be done and what kind of sacrifice must be brought. They prescribe some sort of Beson prepared from herbs and roots, of which they know the properties very well. It has happened that many doctors have been consulted in a single case, have perhaps given up all hope of recovery, and yet the patient became well.

757 [824] For headache they lay a piece of white walnut bark on the temples, toothache is treated by placing the same kind of bark on the cheek over the tooth that gives the trouble. The bark is very heating and burns the skin in a short time, often affording relief. The same bark is applied to any of the limbs that may be afflicted, having the effect at times of driving the pain from one part of the body to another, until there is an eruption 752 somewhere. This bark pounded fine and boiled to the con-

groups although possessing its own ethnic individuality, still overlaps in certain respects. And where the practices and beliefs of many tribes reveal similarity to the folk remedies of Europeans in the New World, the problem of interpretation of properties is made extremely complicated. Realizing that many of the plants and weeds are migrants from Europe to the New World, we shall have to proceed with caution in view of the fact that the Indians had an ample native pharmacology of their own before the period of conquest, and that an experimental spirit was always and everywhere active in revealing new cures among the invading plant hosts. It will, therefore, not be an easy task to distinguish between what is Indian and what is European, until we can assign the concepts and practices to one or the other.

No one, I believe, would deny that there has been much borrowing, as it is called, on the part of the Colonial whites from the Indians as a glance at the voluminous contents of the United States Dispensary (1926) will reveal. In the north this process was initiated by the French who accompanied Cartier (1906, pp. 73, 77) and who would have perished from scurvy, had it not been for the therapeutic knowledge of those Algonquin or Montagnais who supplied them with an effective medicine concocted of white cedar bark. Subsequent to this reference in the early documents many others are encountered indicating a deep-rooted system of primitive medicine which was, as it should be, partly pharmacological and partly psychological.

The Delaware system of health protection and disease curing seems to be a blend of what students of comparative medicine have agreed in calling primitive religion and science. In Delaware the sophistry and the performances of healing are religious while the knowledge applied in these processes is scientific. And yet where the action of the herbs, if not other substances, is mechanical or chemical, there is always the dependence upon the spiritual power of the healer with the deep emotional attributes from which the Delaware mind is never free when operating in these channels of thought. There has been, however, a certain element of hard-headed and non-magical experimentation blended together in the development of the herbal cures, at least from the point of view of native method. For the observation of repeated success with some remedies and failure with others has not escaped the attention of the native doctor. Conversations with Witapanóxwe and the herbalists of other tribes have made me aware frequently that selective judgment was combined with past experience in the profession. To deny this would be to discount the mental stature of these men of thought and study to a degree that would bring a smile to the person who has had intimate associations with the native doctors among any of the eastern tribes. Like students of other professions they comprehend the unlimited bounds of knowledge and are ever seeking for additions to both pharmacopeia and technical or magical theory. And the test of efficacy is present in their disciplines even though the test is

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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judged by the results of treatment rather than by the science of composition. I might compare it, in some respects, to the tenets of Christian Science without, I hope, doing too much injustice to the basis of this much favored school of reasoning. The Delaware would offer an instance of the powerful influence of religious beliefs upon professional technique, cited by Kirkpatrick (1929, p. 249) and elaborated by Boas (1929), Goldenweiser (1922) and Lowie (1924b) among American students of the subject. Here, however, lies an extended field for investigation which in no manner depends for its development upon Delaware data but in which, I hope, this material will find a place as illustrative of the status of magical science and religion among one of the eastern Algonkian tribes.

That the Delaware of today are not so different from their forebears of two centuries ago as regards ability to treat cases that baffle their rivals of the European profession, is shown by a statement in 1698 of Gabriel Thomas (1912, pp. 323, 340) who said, "The Indians are able doctors and surgeons as any in Europe, performing celebrated cures therewith." From the account written by Heckewelder (1876, p. 229) we have the following testimony. "I, myself, have been benefited and cured by taking their emetics and medicines in fevers, and by being sweated after their manner while laboring under a stubborn rheumatism. I have also known many, both whites and Indians, who have with the same success resorted to the Indian physicians, while laboring under diseases .. . I firmly believe that there is no wound, unless it should be absolutely mortal, or beyond the skill of our own good practitioners, which an Indian surgeon (I mean the best of them) will not succeed in healing." Zeisberger also refers to their ability to treat successfully different maladies, especially diseases peculiar to women. As for the present my informant lays claim to the curing of thirty-two persons during his sojourn in Philadelphia, for which he received no more regular compensation than voluntary gifts from persons of the underprivileged classes.

In assembling the botanic material presented here, specimens of plants were gathered in the wider Philadelphia area in company with my informant who explained at length their medicinal properties and uses. This collection was later supplemented by a few plants sent me by Witapanóxwe from his home in Oklahoma. From time to time such specimens were submitted to Dr. John M. Fogg, Department of Botany, University of Pennsylvania, who very kindly checked their scientific identity. At the conclusion of the investigation a complete list of plant specimens was sent to M. R. Gilmore, University of Michigan, for comment of an ethno-botanical nature.

In the text, bibliographic citations are indicated by the author's name and the date of publication, to permit ready reference to the bibliography.

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776 778 power. Besides its specific name, the term, "our Grandfather," is applied ceremonially to fire. Rocks are also known as "our Grandfathers." Water is regarded as a powerful spiritual force and is known as "our Mother."

757 Some cases of illness can be cured in one treatment while in others it is necessary to hold several meetings in the sweat lodge. The latter is known by a term meaning "temporary sweating." New stones are secured for each treatment. It is considered advisable to let one or more days elapse between treatments, as determined by the physical condition of the patient. The latter is occasionally massaged by the doctor, who first warms his hands upon a hot stone before rubbing the affected area. Often it is necessary also for the healer to [755] blow hot or cold air upon the patient. For the first the shaman's breath is warmed by means of a hot drink. In Delaware terminology this is known as "warm breath." In case of fever or exhaustion the "cooling breath" is used. One doctor had so much supernatural power in this respect that his breath would cause a swelling wherever it struck the body. It was therefore necessary for him to exercise great care in this type of treatment to avoid bringing undue discomfort to the patient.

795 515 Following the ritual performance in one of the Delaware peyote cults, it is customary at the present time for the participants, both men and women, to go into the sweat house (Petrullo, 1934, p. 95). This usually occurs before sunrise. The sweat house for this assemblage accommodates about twenty persons. The equipment is precisely the same as for the performance previously described, but there is no ritual connected with this performance. Men and women enter together and drink hot water to induce perspiration. In case of nausea, they chew "Osage tobacco" (wild sage) and swallow the juice. This plant, according to my informant, has a very strong taste together with astringent qualities. The sweating period is followed by a plunge.[81]

[81] This is comparable to the semi-social aspect of the rite as described by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226. "These sweat ovens are generally at some distance from an Indian village where wood and water are always at hand. The best order is preserved at those places. The women have their separate oven in a different direction from that of the men, and are subjected to the same rules. The men generally sweat themselves once and sometimes twice a week; the women have no fixed day for this exercise, nor do they use it as often as the men." He also states: ". . . A crier goes his rounds calling *pimook*, 'go to sweat.' Everyone brings his small kettle which is filled for him with the potion which at the same time serves him as a medicine, promotes profuse perspiration, quenches his thirst."

warrior desires information as to the location of the enemy; the chief seeks for a clearer insight into tribal affairs in general.

So powerful are these agents of the spirit forces that if one speaks to them against his enemies, he will have the power to attack the latter by means of practices of a malevolent character. Such power is considered as basically evil and to be used only as a last resort. Supernatural power, in general, is believed to be given to the Delaware to accomplish good and not for matters of minor importance.

The Medicine Stone

A concretion secreted in the alimentary organs of certain ruminants is known to have been highly prized by the peoples of Europe and the Orient [86] for its alleged magical and medicinal properties. This unusual object is also known to and valued by the natives of the New World.[87] From the present-day Delaware, we have the following information on the medicine stone, one of their most sacred and invaluable possessions. It is comparable to the bezoar stone of Oriental fame and usually has a similar function—as an antidote for poison. Although such objects are known to be present in the digestive organs of different animals, that obtained from the blacktail deer (Odocoileus hemionus) is considered as the most potent variety. The Delaware call such a stone by the term meaning "emergency gift." From its use in rubbing a wound made by a snake or mad dog, it is sometimes known as "mad stone." They are of varying shapes and sizes and serve as protective agents for their owners. One may use such a charm to make medicine for another who is seriously ill or injured. In the case of illness pronounced fatal by others, scrapings from the medicine stone are infused in hot water and administered as a tea. Complete recovery of the patient is expected as a result. Witapanóxwe relates how warriors of the earlier period employed such a stone to heal fatal wounds. If it is not possible to administer it as a tea, the stone is simply rubbed over the body of the wounded person.

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[86] See article *Bezoar* in New International Encyclopedia, Vol. 3. Second Edition, 1924.

[87] I am indebted to Dr. John M. Cooper, Catholic University of Washington, Washington, D. C., for access to his manuscript on *The Bezoar in Aboriginal American Culture.*

cine,"[8] was prepared. Such formulæ were transferred from the warriors of one generation to another, in native theory only those known to live clean, pure lives being the recipients. A warrior carried a bundle which contained medicine and personal charms. The medicine stone[9] was used only in times of crisis.

Use of Wampum in Healing

Shell wampum is used in treating cases of paralysis or similar afflictions believed due to failure of parents to fulfill certain ceremonial obligations or to breaking certain taboos. Before receiving treatment the patient presents one yard of wampum[10] to the medicine man. Potency is added to the herbal medicines by the wampum and enables the doctor to diagnose the case in a brief time.[11]

The Otter Medicine

The Otter[12] was regarded as the most sacred of all water animals. It figured in a ceremony described by Harrington[13] in which the spirit of the Otter was propitiated. In order to capture the animal a special lure was made. The formula for preparing such medicine[14] was in the custody of an old man of sufficient spiritual purity to withstand its great power. Certain roots,[15] cleaned by the old man in running water to the accompaniment of a song, were used. In doing so he was obliged to walk against the current, throwing water upon his tracks to conceal them. A secluded place was sought out for this preparatory rite. The medicine was hidden away from his dwelling lest it lose potency through the proximity of a woman. The medicine was considered very effective in luring other water animals, since it was a gift from the Otter, the most powerful of such creatures.

[8] According to Zeisberger *(op. cit.,* p. 127) "The captains and others secure a *beson* (medicine) to preserve themselves from arrow and ball." Converse (1910, p. 168) notes the use of medicine made from the roots of corn, which the men drank. It afforded them such supernatural protection that "they could not be shot even though they were shot at seven times."

[9] See page 23.

[10] Measured from the shoulder to the wrist.

[11] The function of wampum in healing and in the ceremony of the Big House is discussed by Speck, 1931, pp. 52-53.

[12] *Lutra canadensis.*

[13] 1921, p. 176.

[14] Known as "otter medicine."

[15] The same plant, "pull up" *(Sp.?)* is also used in preparation of love charms (see p. 13).

APPENDIX II

USES OF MEDICINAL PLANTS AMONG THE CANADIAN DELAWARE

114 124 THE following notes on the medicine practices of the Six Nations Delaware, Grand River Reserve, located near Hagersville, in Brant County, Ontario, Canada, were recorded during a visit to the reserve in November, 1931. The group consists of about 150 individuals of mixed Indian and white blood. Only a few, however, have any knowledge of the language and traditions of the Delaware who once inhabited the section of the country now known as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. To find the identity and location of the predecessors of the band now in question, who migrated to Canada, will be impossible until a comparative study has been made of the various vocabularies.

115 I am indebted to Mrs. Martha Peters Hill, Nicholas Powless, his sister, Mrs. Maracle, Joseph Montour, John Lickers, and Walter Moses for aid in securing the Delaware information herein presented.

222 ●755 [184] In contrast to the ceremonies connected with the various processes of healing as employed by the Oklahoma Delaware, we find only a few traces of such rites among the Delaware of Canada. Plant parts to be used for medicinal purposes should be gathered when the vital properties are in that part of the plant (the flower, root, etc.), to be used. One informant added that plants should be gathered before the fireflies appear. When seeking herbal plants, the first of the desired species should not be plucked. It is customary to pass on to another of the same variety and there dig a small hole beside the plant and in it place an offering of tobacco. If a large quantity of herbs were gathered, they were tied in bundles and allowed to dry in the sun, to prevent mould. Some dried their plants in a warm room.

When bark is used it is taken from the east side of a tree; only the inner bark, which is usually peeled downward, is used. Roots may be scraped or cut into small portions.

278 Medicinal plants are regarded as being sensitive to handling, and when brewing medicine, care must be taken to refrain from stirring the mixture while it is steeping. After being thoroughly steeped, the medicine is removed from the fire, and if necessary, stirred only toward the

Death

764 Early burials which have been excavated reveal few objects buried with the body although Penn indicates that it was customary among the Lenape to place objects in the graves (p. 37). Skinner is of the opinion that this may have been a custom which was coming into more common practice during the period we are dealing with (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Of about equal occurrence are flexed and secondary bone burials. A Delaware burial has been described by Lindstrom: "...a round pit is dug in the ground and a stool is placed in the hole upon which the dead man shall sit. Then the dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe a fathom long in his mouth...". After the hole is filled up, "...they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze,[16] hanging like fringes." The bones were later dug up and the flesh cut from them after which they were wrapped in chestnut bark and placed on the bottom shelf where the bundle was allowed to stand until it rotted. (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250).

765 Above the body there has frequently been found a layer of shells which has been interpreted as evidence of a feast of the dead (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Other features of the death ceremonies noted by early writers are: the use of charcoal on the face as a sign of mourning (Penn, p. 37; Danckaerts, p. 159), the sending of a messenger to all friends to announce a person's decease and loud lamentations at the grave. The name of the deceased was not mentioned (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250). 784 551 Many of these features are incorporated in Heckewelder's excellent description of the funeral of a chief's wife (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 269-276).

Disease

753 Disease was classified into natural illness and sickness caused by witchcraft and spirits of the dead. This classification is reflected in the many different types of cures which the Delaware practiced. Curing was one of the few activities placed in the hands of professional 755 people, the shamans, although purely medicinal cures were also performed by laymen. The shamans used a combination of medicines, magic, sweating, bleeding and psychotherapy to effect their cures for which they were paid. Penn says that the Delaware will give anything to be cured and this is echoed by later writers (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 232).

757 Medicines which were taken internally were made from bark and roots mixed with water (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224-231); likewise, plants with medicinal properties were made into poultices for wounds, boils and snake bite (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 229; Loskiel, p. 113). The shaman might also breathe on the patient or blow his 755 remedy over the patient's body. In addition to making and giving these remedies, the shaman frequently put on a performance in which he grimaced and acted in such a way as to frighten away the evil spirit which

was possessing the sick person (Danckaerts, p. 180; Lindstrom, p. 247). Possession by an evil spirit was believed to occur either though an accidental encounter with a human spirit or sorcery. The practice of the latter among the Delaware was largely confined to the curing shamans themselves (Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 125, 128, 131; Speck, 1931, p. 109; Brainerd, p. 347).

Sweating was done regularly, but was also considered beneficial in illness. The sweathouse was made of stone and clay with a hole at the top large enough to crawl through. A large number of stones were heated red hot and then put in the center. The bathers lay around them, water was poured on the stones and the hole stopped up. The sweating was followed by a plunge in the nearest stream (Lindstrom pp. 257-258). Penn witnessed a chief using this cure in the midst of winter, when a path had to be cut through the ice between the sweathouse and the river. (Penn, p. 55).

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing, it appears that quite a complete picture of Delaware life at the time of white contact can be reconstructed, based on observations made shortly after contact and supplemented by more complete descriptions of these customs by later observers. The method used in this paper brings out clearly, on the other hand, the fact that there was insufficient recording of the social and political organization of the tribe to permit a reconstruction of those aspects of life with any high degree of probability. By the time the Moravian missionaries came in contact with the Delaware culture, one hundred years had elapsed since initial contact and there is little basis on which to determine whether any trait mentioned by the missionaries represents an old, modified or new situation. This conclusion is in contrast with that of other writers on Delaware culture who have ignored the fact that their material was gathered at widely different times and places.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

79x house or tent the man of the house usually gives him a piece of tobacco, which the Messingq smells and puts in his big pouch, after which he turns around and kicks back toward the giver which means 'thank you,' and departs. He never thinks of climbing a fence, but jumps over it every time that one is in his way. The Devil dance is what the white men call it, but the Delawares call it the Messingq, or 'solid face' dance. The Messingq does not represent an evil spirit, but is always considered a peacemaker. I suppose that it is from his hideous appearance that white men call him the devil."

OTHER FUNCTIONS OF MĬSI'NG^{w}

755 776 861 The MIsi'ng^{w} the Indians claim, "takes care of the children," as well as of the deer, for as before related if any Delaware has a child who is weak, sickly, or disobedient, he sends for the MIsi'ng^{w} and asks him to "attend to" his child, On his arrival it does not take the impersonator long to frighten the weakness, sickness, or laziness out of such children, so that "afterward they are well and strong, and whenever they are told to do a thing, they lose no time in obeying." This is the only trace of the doctoring function of the mask found among the Unami.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

794 796 751 the ashes from the two fires, then threw the ashes all over the house to prevent the people assembled from having disease.

•755 794 796 Should any sick person appear, he or she would be especially treated with ashes. Sometimes the performers would pick up live coals and throw them about, frightening the people. At other times the whole company of them would go around to the different houses begging for tobacco, and would dance in any house where someone was willing to sing for them.

532 778 [126] Nothing was said among the Minsi about the Mizink bringing back stray stock or driving deer, characteristic attributes of the Mask Being of the Unami. The writer obtained but one mask among the Canadian Lenape, and this was from the Grand River band (fig. 4); it has been described by him[84] in the following words:

> "But one mask (*mizink*) was obtained. It differed from those of the Iroquois chiefly in being cruder, and also in decoration, the lines being burnt into the wood instead of being

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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Ceremony	Function	Spirit Force Addressed
1. Grease Drinking Ceremony; Bear Rite	To immunize against sickness caused by Bear	Bear
2. Grease Drinking Ceremony; Otter Rite	To immunize against sickness caused by Otter	Otter
3. Mask Dance Ceremony	To avert sickness caused by Face-Image spirit and to aid deer hunting and agriculture	Mask Spirit, Corn (mother or grandmother)
4. Opossum Dance	To satisfy the guardian spirit of opossums	Opossum
5. Doll Dance	To appease ill-will of spirit of corn and avert sickness	Human Images (dolls)
6. Buffalo Dance	To overcome buffalo	Buffalo
7. Spring Football Ceremony	To promote and protect growth of crops	Creator (father), Sun (elder brother) and Thunders (grandfathers)
8. Corn Harvest Ceremony	Thanksgiving, appeal for health and abundance	Creator (Father), Corn (mother or grandmother)
9. Social, or "Stomp" Dances	Amusement, social assembly	None specified
10. Big House Ceremony (Ga'mwiŋ)	To avert, (a) destruction of world; (b) national catastrophe and sickness; (c) to unify the people	Creator and entire pantheon

[facing p. 26(A)]

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ORCE ADDRESSED	ORIGIN	PROCEDURE
	From release of captive Bear (myth)	Recitation of visions, drinking grease and fea meat——
	From release of captive Otter (myth)	Recitation of visions, drinking of grease and hog meat
it, Corn (mother or ther)	Obligation imposed by Spirit (myth)	Solo mask dance, eating corn foods
	Dream injunction (myth)	Imitative of opossum, and recitation of d hostess
ages (dolls)	Children's familiarity with corn mask dolls causing illness (myth)	Six men's, six women's dance songs, feast and corn foods, prayer-call facing east, t corn-bread images of human being and bear, offering
	None specified	Imitative of buffalo, circling, shoving
(father), Sun (elder and Thunders thers)	Mandatory by custom	Prayer, thanksgiving followed by dance, fol football game between men and women
(Father), Corn or grandmother)	Mythical corn famine, rite mandatory by custom	Day: Thanksgiving address by leader, d masked men, alternating with women's dan Night: Social dances, feast of corn foods, fa around drummers and singers
ified	None specified	Circling column in trot, contraclockwis motions, varied mimicry
nd entire pantheon	Ceremony revealed to tribe after mythical earthquake, tornado and volcano,—destruction of world	Recitation of visions with dancing aroun and praying, discourses and feasting fo nights; ceremonial hunt and mask danc morning; ninth night, new fire made, an call to creator, incense burned, wampum con and sacrifice, repainting images, corn-f meat feast; twelfth night "beginners" and rehearsal of vision recitation, fire allowed t ninth morning, dance around center-post prayer-call with prayer-sticks; wampum sa

[Facing p. 26(B)]

SUMMARY OF DELAW

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CEDURE	CEREMONIAL HOST	PARTICIPANTS	
iking grease and feast of bear	Wolf division, head of family, self-appointed	Family of legendary hero and guests, no women	Bi
nking of grease and feast of	Oldest survivor of family concerned with legend	Family of legendary originator and guests, men and women	Sp
,orn foods	Owner of mask, or person calling for rite as cure for sickness or scared after dreaming of mask	No restrictions	Ar n
ınd recitation of dream by	Female who inherits obligation	Female dance volunteers, singers, members of hostess's father's group	W
dance songs, feast of meat -call facing east, tossing up nan being and bear, wampum	Families owning dolls descended from original children doll-makers; leader an invited chief with male and female assistants	Families owning dolls; unrestricted guests	Ar
ing, shoving	Not specified	Volunteers, no limitations	Wl
owed by dance, followed by nen and women	Chief of ceremonial group, Wolf, Tortoise, Turkey	No restrictions	An s
lress by leader, dance by g with women's dance st of corn foods, final dance ingers	Chosen (hereditary?)	No restrictions	An
ot, contraclockwise; hand	Appointed leaders	No limitations; free attendance	Co in
ith dancing around images s and feasting for twelve t and mask dance, fourth new fire made, and prayer- urned, wampum consecration ng images, corn-food and it "beginners" and women's ation, fire allowed to go out; around center-post images, sticks; wampum sacrifice	Individual of Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise group who assumes sponsorship, supported by his group and twelve "attendants".	Sponsor's group, and other two groups as collaborators	An n n

[facing p. 26(c)]

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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ARY OF DELAWARE RITES AND FEASTS

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IPANTS	TIME HELD	DURATION	LOCA
dary hero and nen	Biennial	One night	Rectangular bri
dary originator n and women	Spring, biennial	One or more days	Outdoors on pre
	Annually in autumn at beginning of hunting season	One night	Not specified
olunteers, sing- of hostess's	When called annually (?)	One night	Outdoor (?) dan
g dolls; unre-	Annually in fall	One night until sunrise	Outdoors on pre
imitations	When decided and called	All day	Outdoor dance e
	Annually in spring until midsummer end of June	Dancing several nights at end of each week, football game day following	Outdoors on pre
	Annually at corn harvest time	Day and night	Outdoors on pre
ree attendance	Conclusion of formal rites, or informally when called	All or part of night	Indoor or outdoo
and other two borators	Annually in fall (Oct.) (formerly by tradition every month)	Twelve nights, with rites on fourth and thirteenth days	In permanent cen ture (the Big E images of Creat lesser deities, ar adjacent

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Location	Musical Accompaniment	Supplies and Paraj
Rectangular brush house	Turtle hand-rattle	Wampum string for bear's meat, and bear's head (now
Outdoors on prepared ground	Turtle hand-rattle	Otter skin pendant on back o and steel fire tools
Not specified	Deer-hide drum, snapping turtle rattle by mask dancer	Red and black wooden mas leggings, bag, staff, corn payment
Outdoor (?) dance oval	Water-drum and rattle	Wampum paid to singer
Outdoors on prepared ground	Deer-hide drum with turtle-rattles	Dressed male and female do red, wampum to pay leads beef and hog meat, hominy,
Outdoor dance circle	Deer-hide drum	Buffalo horn head band, hom
Outdoors on prepared ground	(?)	Football of deer-hair and goal
Outdoors on prepared ground	Drums and rattles	Masks, corn husk covering, e
Indoor or outdoor circle	None required	Native costume urged
In permanent ceremonial structure (the Big House), before images of Creator and twelve lesser deities, and on grounds adjacent	Hide-drum, turtle hand-rattles	Wooden mask, corn-morta mussel-shell spoons, red strings and beads, prayer-sti sticks, turkey-wing fans, fire corn foods, cedar incense

[Facing p. 26(E)]

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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Supplies and Paraphernalia	Ceremonial Units
m string for bear's head, baskets of and bear's head (now hog's head)	Eat-all feast of bear's meat, vision recitation
in pendant on back of song leader, flint el fire tools	Dream recitation, kindling new fire, feasting on hog flesh and grease
l black wooden mask, bear-skin coat, s, bag, staff, corn foods, wampum nt	Mask-clown dance, sermon, supplication, feast, social dances (mask-dancer also admitted to Big House Ceremony)
m paid to singer	Dream recitation, feast, sermon, social dances
male and female dolls, faces painted ampum to pay leader and assistants, d hog meat, hominy, cornbread	Song-dance, feast, sermon, social dances, extinguishing fire, cornbread image sacrifices
horn head band, hominy pot for feast	Imitative dancing
of deer-hair and goals	Round dances, prayer, thanksgiving; football game between sexes with wagering
corn husk covering, corn foods	Prayer, thanksgiving, masked dance, corn-food feast, social dances, Drunken dances
ostume urged	No ritual
mask, corn-mortar, bark dishes, shell spoons, red paint, wampum and beads, prayer-sticks, carved drum turkey-wing fans, fire-drill, deer meat, ods, cedar incense	Capitulates events of annual ceremonial cycle; vision recitation, sermons and prayers; corn-food and meat feasting, sacred hunt, mask-clown dancing; new fire rite; formerly sweat-bath rite; wampum sacrifice; purification,—sweeping of white-path; painting rite; cedar incense rite; paint annointment rite; no social dances; informal games during day intervals

[Facing p. 26(F)]

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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[796] and women, and a man was selected to cook the hog, and another to supply wood and to cut the poles for swinging the kettle, both of whom were paid with a yard of wampum. The fire was kindled with a special flint-and-steel always kept with the outfit.

"It will be observed that the otter-skin has a slit down the middle of the neck, through which the owner thrust his head in such a manner that the otter's nose lay under the wearer's chin, while its body and tail hung down his back. Wearing the skin in this manner himself impersonating the original otter, the owner would open the ceremony by walking about the fire, chanting and shaking the turtle rattle which resembled those used in the Big House, while the audience kept time to his song by uttering 'Hu-hu-hu-hu!' The nature of the song the writer was unable to learn, but, like the chants of the Bear Ceremony, it probably was concerned with the singer's 'dream helper.' When he had finished, another man put on the skin and took up the chant, and so on until noon the next day, when the ceremony was brought to a close and all joined in the feast. At this time the skin is told, 'We will feed you again in two years.'"

In regard to the Grease Drinking, or Otter, Ceremony, we have the following historical notes to add from the testi-
[424] mony of Tom Half Moon. The last time that the ceremony was performed (1898) it was done in behalf of his mother, Lizzie Half Moon of the Turkey group, in whose family the rite was an hereditary one coming down through her father, the previously mentioned Col. Jackson. Jackson acquired the privilege to perform it through his wife whose great-
[755] grandfather is said to have been its originator. His mother, it seems, was at the point of death, whereupon it was decided as a last resort to try a cure through the Otter Ceremony. Shortly after its completion, however, the afflicted woman died. Upon the failure of the rite it was decided to abandon it upon the assumption that it was valuable only to the women of an earlier generation of the Nation's history. Half Moon,
[346] who was present at its performance, corroborated the details previously recorded, affirming that the celebration was carried on within a brush enclosure or fence and not covered over at the top. He recalled how each one among those present took a little drink of grease, throwing the rest of his or her portion into the fire. The portions were offered to the participants by the leader or master of ceremonies.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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SACRIFICE FEASTS

For a community, a family or an individual to prepare and conduct a feast accompanied by a more or less formal address as a means of bringing relief from trouble or to secure a spiritual blessing for those concerned, is a Delaware usage that assumes the character of a ceremony. It typifies the formal Delaware ceremonial pattern that prevails in most of the performances of a more impressive character such as the Big House Ceremony, the Doll Dance, the Bear Ceremony, the Otter Ceremony, the Corn Harvest Ceremony, the Buffalo Dance and the Opossum Dance.

The procedure of the feast or sacrifice rite, as it is called in Delaware *wi·hu'ygi·n*, "making an offering [or sacrifice] to someone," is rather simple. The party acting as host, whether it be a community, a family or an individual, provides the materials for the feast from the three kingdoms of life; flesh, vegetables and fruit. It is, moreover, often held upon the first taking of the produce of the chase or the first harvesting of things grown or gathered. Its ancient character is exhibited by the fact of its wide distribution in similar form over the entire territory inhabited by Algonkian-speaking peoples.

To secure relief for a sick member of a family is a common motive for giving a feast of offering. In such a case persons of another ceremonial division of the tribe (Wolf, Tortoise and Turkey groups) are called in as guests. The guests and the hosts eat separately, the guests being served first. A little speech of the following nature is made by the host. "Not having complied with the rules of life in some way which has caused its illness, I feel that I want to give this food in behalf of this child (or other afflicted member of the family as named), and hope that its health will be restored." Implied in this rite of appeal is the feeling that the good-will generated by the feast and the motive for it will cause those

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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796 present to pray and "to wish for"[1] the recovery of the sick
355 one.

It is customary for the food to be divided equally among the guests and it is understood that all must be disposed of, if necessary by the invited ones taking home with them what they cannot eat in vessels or dishes brought with them for that purpose.

[1] The Delaware equivalent of a wide-spread belief in efficacy of the power of "wish" in eastern North America.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XXV.

Concerning the Devil-Chasing of the American Savage People and the Doctors of Medicine Who Are Called Devil-Chasers.

When the savage sickens and death attacks him 753
he does not believe in any death and resurrection, 755
but that *Manitto*, that is the Devil, is plaguing him;[1] for he knows indeed that the evil one exists,[2] who sends him all evil things; but he will not believe that any good God exists, who gives him both temporal and eternal good. Therefore the savages sacrifice and prepare feasts for the Devil in order to propitiate him that he should do them no harm; this the savages do in their hunting expeditions about which we have related before, and all other things which take place according to their plans.[3]

Now when the savage is tormented on his death- 755
bed, he calls for the doctor of medicine, who is otherwise called the devil-chaser. Then he first makes use of all kinds of medicines and when he finds that they do not help, he pretends to be worse than the Devil himself, intending thus to chase the evil one out of body of the savage, wherefore he is called the devil-chaser. Runs back and forth,

[1] The construction is loose. The idea is: The Indian does not believe that God calls him to his death for a later resurrection, but that a fetish or some unseen power, probably in the service of an enemy, is plaguing him and will eventually cause his death.

[2] *Ty det weet han wäll, att tale om den ondhe wars till*, for he indeed knows to till [that] the evil one exists.

[3] See above, Chapts. XV, XVII.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

763 cries so that it is heard a long way off, rolls himself naked into the burning fire, takes fire brands with which he builds a wall[4] all around the sick one, the sick one enduring such with patience, both thinking that the worse the devil-chaser acts, the sooner the Devil will depart. But it is to be feared that his art and labor are in vain, although his medicines are very wonderful, neither they nor the devil-chaser's devil-chasing are undoubtedly able to further help or be of avail in that case.

763 And now when the savage has died then they set themselves down to bawl and howl, weep and lament over their good comrade's deathly departure. But the devil-chaser sits there so terrible and mourns over the fact that the Devil came to be his superior.

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[4] *Bastioncrar den siuka*, bastionates the sick person, i.e., builds a bastion around him. "In sicknesse the Priest comes close to the sick person, and performes many strange Actions about him, and threatens and conjures out the sicknesse." Williams, *Key*, 112.

26. Moral superintendence of Supreme Being over worshipers		−	(+)		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		776
27. Pray to Him for favors or assistance	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		782
28. Deposit tobacco on stones, mountains, etc. for favors					+	+	+	+	+	+	+		775
29. Tobacco sacrificed for success in hunting	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		713
30. Believe in a future state of punishments and rewards	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		754
31. Final judgment						+	+	+	+	+	+		784
32. Mental or corporeal pleasures in future state of existence		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		164
33. Judgment immediately after death		+?				+	+	+	+	•	+		784
34. Souls of worthy go to place of happiness or abode of Supreme Being	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+		757
35. Souls of bad go to land of bad spirits or hell							+	+	+	+	−		756
left on earth or no good place	+	+		+		+			+	+	−		757
36. Tortured or unhappy in either place		+		+		+			−	•	−		756
37. Direction of habitation of good souls	SW	S		S		Up	S	•	Up	Wk Up	Up		755
bad souls						Up	•	•	Up	Up	Up		343
38. Believe in ghosts		+		+		+	+	−	+	+	+		
39. Have priests	+	+		−		−	−	−	−	−	−		
40. Witches and wizards		+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+		
41. National worshiping society †				+	+	+	+		+	+	+		
Medicine													
42. Diseases to which peculiarly liable †													
Bowel disorders				+	+	+			+	+	−		
Consumption					+				−	+	+		
Pleurisy						+			−	+	+		
Chills and fevers	+			+	+			+	+	+	+		
Dysentery				+						+	−		
Rheumatism				+	+				−	+	−		
Boils				+						−	+		
43. Remedies usually roots and herbs	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		
44. Bleeding common			+	+	+	+		+	−	+	+		
45. Cupping common				+						−	+		
46. Sweating common	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		
47. Medical profession	+	−	+	+	+	−		−	+	+	+		
48. Receive any education						−			+	+	+		
49. Called by divine agency in youth									+	+	+		
50. Count pulse									−	+	+		
51. Inquire into nature of complaint									+	+	+		

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. T.
						342 756 155			263 246 576 538	191 562 858	574	
Medicine—Continued												
52. Perform surgical operation				(−)		−		−	−	−	−	−
53. Unite profession with priesthood	(+)		(+)			−		−	−	−	−	−
54. Always use juggling tricks †	+	S	S	S	S	−		−	S		S	S
55. Beat on own breast	+		(+)		+	+			+	+	+	+
56. Blow in hands	+		(+)		±	+			+	−	+	+
57. Make rumbling noise	+		+	+		+			+	−	+	+
58. Blow on patient	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
59. Rub the part affected						+			+	+	+	+
60. Have effect on patient's confidence						+			+	+	+	+
General Manners and Customs												
61. Eat human flesh			•(−)	−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−
62. Shake hands on meeting; inquire about health and express gladness to see	(±)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. Great respect paid age or rank				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
65. Visit one another for purpose of conversation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
66. Regular parties at which they entertain				+		+	•	•	+	+	+	+
67. Practice of telling stories				+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
68. In winter and at night only						+	•	•	+	+	+	•+
69. Use words equivalent to swearing		−		−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Exhibit strong feelings of love, friendship and affection to same sex					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. to opposite sex						+	−	+	+	−	+	•
72. common to try to suppress to same sex						+	−	+	+	−	−	+
73. common to try to suppress to opposite sex						+	+	+	+	−	−	•
74. Matter of pride to suppress feelings or excitement, especially fear and shame				+		+	•	+	+	(+)	+	+
75. On return home men treat wives with indifference					+	+	+	•	−	+	−	+
76. On return home men treat children with indifference					−	−	•	•	−	−	−	−
77. Powers of recollection strong			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
78. Any peculiarities in encampments (except war) or building of huts that distinguish from others				+		•+	•	•	•	+	•+	+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

757 Since Zeisberger merely listed cupping as a therapeutic device without giving any details, it is impossible to check his statements absolutely. The other element indicating change is in the union 756 793 of the medical profession with the priesthood (53). As suggested previously, shamans may have been meant by priests. If this was so, of course, the two were united, but, if by "priests" was meant the leaders in the ceremonies of the tribe, the later sources and the informants deny such a union. Our information from the earliest accounts of the ceremonies is insufficient to judge whether there has been a change in function or a change in terms.

757 Evidence on the practice of counting the pulse was equally divided in both the third and fourth periods (50). Entire absence of information on this point prior to 1822 and the division of opinion thereafter strongly suggests that this element was borrowed from the whites sometime around the beginning of the nineteenth century but was not completely accepted.

343 Sweat baths were mentioned in every period as a cure or pre- 756 ventive of disease (46). They were also described by Lindeström, 755 but he did not attach any benefits to their use. The three older informants, J. W., W. T., and W. L., reported that there was a separate category of shamans called sweat doctors who used the sweat bath partly for its curative properties but principally as an aid to diagnosis. The fact that use of juggling tricks by medicine men was not uniformly reported by the sources may be explained by the statements of the informants who claimed that only the sweat doctors used them (54). The sweat doctors might effect their cures with sweat baths or they might merely make a diagnosis and leave the cure to some other shaman. A description of a sweat doctor's procedure was given by J. W. as follows:

755 "J. W.'s father was a sweat doctor. Had vision. Only those built houses. Built fire, put in six limestone rocks, dug little hole on north side of sweat house inside for rocks after they were hot. Pallet for patient on south side of hole, head outside (on east side) of blankets covering house. Leaves patient there ten to fifteen minutes while old man is getting ready a gallon of water with weeds of a certain kind immersed in it. Strips to breech

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

cloth. Doctor gets in on north side of blanket, sits on west side of hole. Has handkerchief tying hair back. Puts water next to hole. Sprinkles water with fingers on rocks, four times with left hand while feeling patient over with right. Then takes mouthful of water which he spits on rock. Makes talk, blows on patient's sternum. Then knows disease. Slaps hands together to make more steam on patient. Then goes out after five or ten minutes, covers himself with blanket for three or four minutes with handkerchief off. Then goes back in with handkerchief on repeats previous performance and begins to sing, slaps hands while singing. Goes out again. Three times is all. Third person sits outside and after third time wraps patient up and takes him home and cleans him up. Doctor then cleans up himself and sweat house and goes to see patient or patient's relatives. Tells him disease and cure which may be sweat treatment for three, four or five days, and certain foods patient cannot eat. For instance, no meat or salt, grease for six days. A little tobacco is put in fire when building it. Just a little fire. Never use rocks again. Sweat house is only for those past five years of age. When younger, doctor places them on a warm rock outside. Tells mother what to eat if baby is nursing. Give baby herbs, maybe twice a day for couple of days. Payment is voluntary."

General Manners and Customs

The practice of eating human flesh even ceremonially has been denied by the Delaware and accounts of the Delaware throughout all the years back to Lindeström (61). This Swedish writer did not explicitly deny that the Delaware ate human flesh, but in describing the practice among the Minqua he implied that it was not true of the Delaware. The Delaware have a tale of cannibalism in the very early days which was the result of famine brought on by violation of a taboo. Aside from this case they admit no knowledge of cannibalism among them. Tribes with whom they were in contact from early historic times and before practiced cannibalism ceremonially and in times of famine. These were principally the Conestoga (the Minqua of Lindeström) and Iroquois. The latter have been credited with orig-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

During the intervals between the songs, or at least once every night, the principal rises from his seat and calls before him six or twelve persons (male) (generally the latter number) from the worshipers. He then delivers to the male servants a quantity of wampum in strings, corresponding to the number of persons called. With these the servants precede the chosen, who go out of the lodge and with their faces turned to the east, seat themselves upon their hams and commence a kind of howl, which they repeat in the same tone twelve times. They then return to the lodge with great solemnity, and take their places as usual. —As a kind of relaxation from the severer duties of the worship, these chosen men are directed by the principal to scatter a quantity of wampum in grains, upon the ground within the lodge. This is for the benefit of the servants, who are obliged to stand upon one leg and take it up with the thumb and finger, a slow method, affording amusement to the spectators. But this only occurs at the close of the night's worship and would be considered improper at any other time. Dancing is sometimes practiced at these assemblages and besides the employment of relating their dreams they are frequently addressed by the old men in exhortations to preserve these customs in their purity, to prolong their own existence by continuing the meetings, and to adore the author, the Great spirit.

Medicine

42. Diseases

To the list on the table Roger Williams adds toothache as one of the greatest afflictions of the Indians (Narragansets); J. W., mumps; W. L., small pox. E. R. said that rheumatism was introduced only recently.

54. Juggling tricks.

The so-called juggling tricks were used only when the patient was dangerously ill, according to John Johnston. These tricks, according to J. W., W. T., and W. L., were used only by the sweat doctors in diagnosing a complaint.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

57. Rumbling noise made by jugglers

755 [756] The rumbling noise made by jugglers mentioned in the earlier accounts was replaced by singing in the accounts of J. W., W. T., and W. L., all of whom said that the sweat doctor sang or talked about his vision which gave him his power to see into the vitals of the patient and determine the nature of his illness.

GENERAL MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

61. Eating of human flesh

266 [727] There is no statement about the eating of human flesh in LINDESTRÖM, but there is a description of torture by fire among the Minquas, and the inference is that such was not practiced among the Delaware and, also, that the eating of human flesh was not common if present at all.

62. Handshaking

576 JOHN JOHNSTON—[Salutation is] by shaking each other by the left hand as token of friendship considering the left hand to be the nighest to the heart. They say but little, except I am glad to see you your looks are familiar the countenance expressed gladness. (Shaking hands is an Indian, and they say an ancient custom.)

CAPTAIN PIPE—Their mode of salutation in meeting is not peculiar. They sometimes express a pleasure in seeing each other, at others the simple *Anishee*, (I am thankful,) is the only expression. They do not as with us, inquire after the health of their families, but of their business, route, etc. It is believed that shaking hand is an Indian custom, but before their knowledge of the whites they used the left hand. In the Engömween, or worshiping assembly, where ancient customs are said to prevail altögether, they always use the left hand. [796]

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The mode of salutation is by shaking hands:—inquiries after healths succeed. The shaking of hands (say they) "was in use from the time they were created."

J. W. and W. L. say that using left hand was formerly Delaware custom.

10: Speck E-4, 5, (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

436 796 sweeping, and general order of the premises receive their pay in wampum beads; the pecuniary value of which amounts to hardly more than a few cents. The drummers, the singers, the dance leaders, the reciters of visions are in their turn rewarded with small donations of wampum at the conclusion of their performances. This is a purifying gift rather than a pecuniary payment, one entirely out of proportion to the worth of service rendered.

[431] The worshipers of the Big House also offer their donations toward the ceremony in strings of wampum, giving them to the Master-of-Ceremonies, saying; ce·la·'yu'·ni· ndeli·' wi·teinge·'n note·'ha·'n "This here is how much I help from my heart!" The sacrosanctity of wampum is furthermore emphasized by the religious rule that wampum should always be given when something has been received, even when only a gift from a friend. In the esteem of the natives it becomes a most potent medicine. Failure to carry out the rules governing the bestowing of wampum would bring sickness upon the receiver of property through exchange or the receiver of a gift. This is especially [757] true in connection with the Delaware practice of medicine, because medicine although destined to heal can double upon itself and become a poison when not sanctified by the conveyance of wampum.[1]

436 425 751 In Delaware phraseology "wampum is our heart." In exchanges of vendable property, even extending to gifts between friends, there lurked a potency for evil that might develop in who knows what quarter, producing malice or resentment among the parties concerned. It could even result in bodily poison to one or both. It is strictly correct to state that in the attitude of the eastern Indians toward such affairs the transfer of shell money from the hands of the receiver of a gift or a purchase to those of the giver performed the function of medicine.

436 755 The wampum protected them against spiritual infection and its manifestation in the body in the form of sickness. Wampum was a purifier, purging the transaction from latent evil force. And should evil have leaked through the transaction the wampum would function as a purgative for its keeper. The same wampum was a spiritual emblem believed by them to have come originally from supernatural sources and embodying within it profound supernatural dynamics.

436 439 We can understand why a compact sealed with the transfer of wampum was as sacred as one sworn to under oath by Europeans. It was such an attitude toward exchange and currency that our colonial forebears encountered when they bartered for land and peltry with the aborigines of New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The colonists handed out their exchange with the European notion of in-

[1] I am of course speaking of Delaware therapeutics exclusively, although something along the same line may be said, by those who are inclined toward a critical attitude, of civilized medical practices.

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sage. The fireplace and the altar had been made many years previously, showing much use by being smooth and hard packed.

While the man who was to tend the fire and guard the door (fire-chief) and several helpers were arranging the tepee, several women were preparing peyote in the farmhouse kitchen. Peyote tea was made by chopping up dried peyote buttons and dropping them in boiling water. After steeping for a few minutes the tea was strained. Green peyote was prepared by peeling off the leathery skin, only the tops being left intact. A little before ten o'clock the fire-chief lit the fire in the tepee with flint and steel. As soon as he came out of the tepee the leader (or road-chief) entered, followed by the drum-chief, the fourteen other participants, and finally the fire-chief. This meeting was somewhat atypical in the small number of participants; attendance usually averaged about twenty-five. After everyone was seated the drum-chief, a Sioux from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, announced that several people had prayers and announcements to make. The road-chief, a Winnebago, then prayed in his own language. As translated next day, this prayer welcomed the participants and asked for divine assistance in the conduct of the meeting. This meeting had been initiated by a Delaware woman who was ill (No. 14 in Fig. 1), and she stood up and thanked everyone for coming and assisting her in regaining her health. Another Delaware (No. 3 in Fig. 1) then said a few words, principally to the effect that the "Native American Church" was not "idolatry" and that he was glad to welcome a white couple (the writer and his wife) to a meeting "to see what it really was like."

The road-chief then prayed again in Winnebago. When this prayer was concluded, he passed the peyote staff and a bunch of sage to the man on his left, who passed it on in a clockwise direction until it had

[text continues on p. 206]

(Explanation of Figure 1)

A. Altar
B. Fire. To some peyotists the heart represents the soul of the Fire Spirits.
C. Sun Mound. The heart symbolizes the soul of the Sun.
D. Ash Piles. Petrullo noted that in some versions of the rite these symbolize the lungs of Christ. I could not confirm this.
E. Water bucket and dipper.
F. Smoldering stick used to light cigarettes.
G. Tepee entrance.
H. Cross. Long axis symbolizes peyote road.
1. Road-chief, Winnebago
2. Delaware man
3. Delaware man
4. Shawnee man
5. Shawnee woman (4's wife)
6. Delaware man
7. Ego
8. Ego's wife
9. Sioux man
10. Sioux woman (9's wife)
11. Fire-chief, Delaware
12. Delaware man
13. Delaware man
14. Delaware sponsor
15. Winnebago woman (16's wife)
16. Winnebago man
17. Drum-chief, Sioux

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with an ordinary kitchen broom. After midnight the ashes were removed from the fire whenever a considerable quantity had accumulated.

The road-chief prayed, peyote was passed, and the songs began again. The throb of the drum and the songs were interrupted only occasionally; someone would ask for peyote, a person would mumble, and once one of the Winnebagos (No. 16, Fig. 1) asked the road-chief for permission to attempt a cure of his wife's swollen feet. This request was granted. The Winnebago walked around the fireplace and altar in a clockwise direction and cedar needles were thrown on the fire. He "caught" the smoke in a feather and dipped it into a cup of water which he had in readiness. He then brushed the feather over the woman's legs, concentrating on her feet. He drew a faintly glowing ember from the fire, took the ash into his mouth, and spit the ash into the ash pile nearest him. He then vigorously sucked the patient's feet.

Also early in the morning the Delaware sponsor asked the road-chief if she could pray for herself and her family. He assented. Standing next to the altar, she smoked a corn husk cigarette and, with tears streaming down her cheeks, related first in English and then in Delaware the story of her illness, her unhappiness, and her desire for the good health of her family. A little later a woman (No. 10 in Fig. 1) asked if she might be allowed to sing. Permission being given, she sang the customary four songs, her husband drumming for her.

At dawn the road-chief announced that the drum was going around for the last time. Following this last round the sponsor, her husband and young daughter (who had awakened and come into the tepee) stood up. The road-chief cast cedar needles upon the fire and brushed the entire bodies of the family with his eagle feather fan in the customary way. He then prayed. After they had resumed their seats the road-chief prayed again, following which candy and crackers were passed. The meeting was closed by the assemblage reciting the Lord's Prayer. The fire-chief rose and went around the tepee in the clockwise direction shaking everyone's hand and congratulating them on a successful meeting. The person on his left followed him in a like manner, and so on until everybody had shaken hands with everyone else and the tepee was emptied. Coffee was made and the participants relaxed in the yard and talked until the noon meal, after which the group dispersed.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to convey the attitude of peyotists and the atmosphere of a peyote meeting by means of a description of what happens during the course of the night. Perhaps the general

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attitude is best summed up as one of intense emotion and reverence. It could hardly be otherwise, since any individual may come face to face with supernatural powers during the course of the ceremony. Even if he does not, he has come to the ceremony in the sincere belief that he can and will get help in solving the most serious of life's problems. This precludes a profane attitude. I can only echo Petrullo (1934: 88) who said that the atmosphere of the ceremony was "... accompanied by the deepest feeling of reverence and awe and peace that it has been my lot to have witnessed either among primitive people or Christian groups engaged in worshipping their God."

Peyote is of course the focal point of the peyote meeting, but peyote itself is not worshipped. Informants stress this again and again, probably because they have so frequently been attacked by Whites and Christian Indians on this point. Peyote is both a symbol of the supernatural forces being worshipped and a sacrament. For the Delaware peyotist it is a means of establishing contact with the supernatural world and of securing a personally satisfactory working relationship with the spirit forces. While Peyote is the most important supernatural force present, it is not the only one. The spiritual forces of Sun, Moon, Fire, and others are there. Their importance and even their existence depends upon individual interpretation (Fig. 1).

The outward emphasis of Delaware peyote meetings is upon curing. The stated purpose of the meeting I have described was to assist in the cure of the sponsor, and there was a shamanistic curing rite performed during the course of the evening. It should also be pointed out that many peyotists are eager to relate how peyote has cured them of various diseases. It would be a mistake, however, to regard Big Moon peyotism as merely a curing rite, or even to think of it as primarily so. Peyote is regarded as a spirit force through which men can approach the omnipotent supernatural power or powers. Informants sometimes equate peyote with Jesus and say that White men use the "Jesus road to God" while the "Indian takes the Peyote Road."

BIG MOON PEYOTISM—THEN AND NOW

Unfortunately Petrullo did not attend a Big Moon meeting with the Delawares near Dewey, but did participate in a Big Moon meeting of the Delawares at Anadarko. Normally there are many minor divergencies between meetings and tepee arrangements because there is no priesthood or dogmatic creed. As Petrullo (1934: 31) said, "A religion that insists that each individual can learn its doctrines only through personal experience with its gods must necessarily exist in a variable